

## Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /026 W

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R 071215Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9437

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 8420

H FOR SENATOR BROOKE'S OFFICE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (BROOKE, EDWARD W.), PFOR, CY

SUBJECT: CODEL BROOKE VISIT TO CYPRUS

REF: NICOSIA 3853 (NOTAL)

1. FOLLOWING IS A REPORT ON SENATOR BROOKE'S CYPRUS  
VISIT AS CLEARED BY HIM IN LISBON.

2. SUMMARY: SENATOR EDWARD BROOKE VISITED CYPRUS  
DEC. 1-3. DURING HIS INTENSE AND PRODUCTIVE VISIT  
HE MET WITH PRESIDENT MAKARIOS, TURK CYPRIOT LEADER  
DENKTASH AND OTEHR LEADERS OF BOTH CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES  
AND VISITED REFUGEE CAMPS AND AID-ASSISTED HOUSING SITES.  
IN HIS CONVERSATIONS, SENATOR BROOKS EMPHASIZED THREE  
THEMES: (1) THE NEED FOR FLEXIBILITY AND RESTRAINT  
BY ALL PARTIES IN THE CYPRUS DISPUTE; (2) THE FACT THAT  
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IS BIPARTISAN AND REMAINS CONSISTENT  
BASED ON AMERICAN NATIONAL INTEREST DESPITE CHANGES OF  
ADMINISTRATION, AND (3) THE NEED FOR BETTER PUBLICITY  
IN CYPRUS ON US ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FOR CYPRUS. A BRIEF  
CHRONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF KEY EVENTS AND CONVERSATIONS  
IN SENATOR BROOKE'S TRIP FOLLOWS.

3. REFUGEE CAMP/HOUSING SITE VISIT. SHORTLY AFTER HIS  
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ARRIVAL, SENATOR BROOKE VISITED A REFUGEE CAMP AT AKHNA  
FOREST, AND A GOC-FINANCED HOUSING PROJECT AT ARADHIPPOU,  
BOTH LOCATED NEAR LARNACA. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A MEMBER  
OF THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL WELFARE, AND MET MANY OF THE

RESIDENTS OF THE REFUGEE CAMP AND OBSERVED THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY LIVE.

4. TURKISH AMBASSADOR CANDEMIR ONHON. SENATOR BROOKE SAID AMERICANS SEE TURKEY AS AN IMPORTANT ALLY. US WANTS TO REESTABLISH A RELATIONSHIP OF CONFIDENCE AND FULL FRIENDSHIP. PASSAGE OF DCA, ASSUMING PROGRESS ON CYPRUS AND AEGEAN, IS IN BOTH OUR INTERESTS. UNFORTUNATELY, MANY IN U.S. SEE TURKEY AS AN INVADER WHICH FLOUTED AMERICAN LAW. TURKEY MUST SHOW FLEXIBILITY ON CYPRUS IF RELATIONS ARE TO IMPROVE. ONHON REPLIED THAT HAVING SERVED FOR THREE YEARS AS PRESIDENT KORUTURK'S CHIEF OF CABINET, HE COULD VOUCHSAFE TURKEY'S ATTACHMENT TO AND RELIANCE ON U.S. A CYPRUS SOLUTION WAS IN THE TURKISH INTEREST. WHATEVER TURKEY MIGHT SAY PUBLICLY, THE CYPRUS PROBLEM COULD NOT BE SOLVED BY PARTIES ON THE ISLAND. GOT WAS DETERMINED TO BE HELPFUL. IN REPLY TO SENATOR'S QUESTION, HOWEVER, ONHON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT COMING TURKISH ELECTIONS WOULD SHORTLY BEGIN TO INCAPACITATE GOT IN THIS SENSE. ONHON SPOKE OF PROBLEMS IN CONNECTION WITH COMING UNSC CYPRUS DEBATE AND RELATED GREEK CAMPAIGN ABOUT TREATMENT OF GREEKS IN TURKISH ZONE. HE PORTRAYED GREEKS AS BASICALLY UNHAPPY AND FEARFUL IN TURKISH ZONE, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF MAKARIOS' STRESS ON "LONG STRUGGLE" AND ASSERTED THAT DEPARTURES ARE VOLUNTARY.

5. DINNER WITH DENKTASH DECEMBER 1. DENKTASH GAVE HIS CUSTOMARY ARTICULATE, HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, VIOLATIONS OF LONDON-ZURICH, GREEK MALTREATMENT OF TURKS, MAKARIOS' DECEIT, ABSOLUTE REQUIREMENT THAT TWO COMMUNITIES BE REGARDED AS EQUAL, ETC. HE COMPLAINED THAT THE WEST DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE TURKISH CASE AND WAS INHERENTLY AND INALTERABLY BIASED AGAINST TURKS. SENATOR URGED THE TURKS, AS VICOTRS, TO TABLE PROPOSALS. IF THEY WERE FAIR AND REASONABLE, THE US AND OTHERS WOULD JUDGE THEM AS SUCH WITHOUT PREJUDICE. DENKTASH ACKNOWLEDGED DEPENDENCE ON ANKARA IN ALL IMPORTANT DECISION AND ALSO CONFIDENTIAL

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REFLECTED HIS LONG-STANDING RESENTMENT OF MAINLAND DICTATION.

6. MAKARIOS. SENATOR BROOKE TOLD MAKARIOS BLUNTLY THAT MAKARIOS WAS REGARDED BY MANY AS BEING DISINTERESTED IN NEGOTIATION. MAKARIOS DENIED THIS, ARGUING ELOQUENTLY AND PLAUSIBLY THAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR LACK OF PROGRESS LAY WITH ANKARA. HE LEFT THE SENATOR WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WOULD REACT REASONABLY TO A BONA FIDE PROPOSAL FOR SETTLEMENT. HE SAID THAT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO HIM A SETTLEMENT WOULD HAVE TO RESTORE ENOUGH TERRITORY TO PERMIT RETURN OF 80,000 REFUGEES. ON TERRITORY, HE COULD ACCEPT LEAVING THE TURKS WITH 25 PERCENT. ON BOTH TERRITORY AND REFUGEES, HOWEVER, SENATOR BROOKE FELT THE ARCHBISHOP'S STATEMENTS DID NOT

REPRESENT THE BOTTOM LINE. MAKARIOS AGREED THAT AN EVENTUAL SOLUTION WOULD BIZONAL. SENATOR NOTED THERE ARE MANY WHO ASSERT THE US WAS A PARTY TO THE 1974 COUO AND SUBSEQUENT TURKISH, INVASION. MAKARIOS STATED FLATLY (AND, GIVEN HIS AUDIENCE, CLEARLY FOR THE RECORD) THAT THE US HAD NOT BEEN A PARTY ALTHOUGH HE FELT IT COULD HAVE DONE MORE TO PREVENT SECOND TURKISH MILITARY ACTION.

7. GLAFKOS CLERIDES, FORMER GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR AND CONSERVATIVE POLITICIAN. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS FROM THE SENATOR, MR. CLERIDES GAVE A DETAILED EXPLANATION OF THE ISSUES IN THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. CLERIDES' BASIC CONCLUSION WAS THAT AN APPROPRIATE SOLUTION WOULD BE A BIREGIONAL FEDERATION WITH A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WITH "ADEQUATE" POWERS. CLERIDES RECOGNIZED THAT THE TURKISH SIDE HAD CERTAIN TERRITORIAL REQUIREMENTS--SUCH AS

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R 071217Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9438

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 8420

H FOR SENATOR BROOKE'S OFFICE

FAMAGUSTA PORT AND TYMBOU (ERCAN) AIRPORT, BUT HE THOUGHT A FINAL DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW ROADS TO FAMAGUSTA IN THE EAST AND SOMEWHAT NORTH OF THE PRESENT NICOSIAMORPHOU LINE IN THE WEST COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR A REASONABLE SOLUTION. CLERIDES CRITICIZED GOC POLICY OF A "LONG STRUGGLE", BELIEVING THAT IT WOULD ONLY CRYSTALLIZE THE POSITION OF THE TWO SIDES AND END IN DISASTER FOR GREEK CYPRUS.

8. STELLA SOULIOTI, PRESIDENT OF THE CYPRUS RED CROSS. SENATOR BROOKE DISCUSSED REFUGEE NEEDS WITH MRS. SOULIOTI. SHE GAVE A STRONG DEFENSE OF INCREASING REFUGEE NEEDS, STATING THAT A STUDY NOW IN PREPARATION IN THE GOC WILL SHOW THAT THE CY78 TOTAL REQUIREMENTS WILL BE 133 MILLION DOLLARS. THIS MEANS THE US ASSISTANCE SHOULD INCREASE AT LEAST TO THE PRE-FY77 LEVEL OF 25-30 MILLION DOLLARS

PER YEAR. SENATOR BROOKE NOTED THAT THE US IS SUFFERING ITS OWN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IS INCREASINGLY CONTROVERSIAL, AND THE QUESTION OF ASSISTANCE TO CYPRUS WILL HAVE TO BE STUDIED VERY CAREFULLY BY THE AMERICAN CONGRESS. THE SENATOR ASKED WHY RECIPIENTS OF US AID IN CYPRUS DO NOT KNOW WHERE THE AID COMES FROM. HE FELT IT WOULD ASSIST GREATLY IF MORE PUBLICITY COULD BE GIVEN ON THE ISLAND TO US ASSISTANCE EFFORTS. THE SENATOR ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT IT IS MOST IMPORTANT THAT AMERICAN ASSISTANCE NOT BE CONFIDENTIAL

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VIEWS AS "CONSCIENCE MONEY" BEING GIVEN BECAUSE OF AN AMERICAN FEELING OF GUILT ABOUT CYPRUS.

9. SPYROS KYPRIANOU, PRESIDENT OF THE CYPRUS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. KYPRIANOU VOLUNTEERED HIS ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT CYPRUS SOLUTION. HIS BELIEF IS THAT THE PARTIES SHOULD GET TOGETHER TO STUDY THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN CYPRUS AS A FIRST STEP; THAT A DEFINITION OF PROPOSALS SHOULD ONLY BE MADE AFTER THE PARAMETERS OF THE PROBLEMS ARE MORE CAREFULLY DESCRIBED. KYPRIANOU DOES NOT BELIEVE A BIREGIONAL SOLUTION WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE MAJORITY OF GREEK CYPRIOTS. SENATOR BROOKE NOTED THAT KYPRIANOU WAS THE ONLY GREEK CYPRIOT TO WHOM HE HAD SPOKEN WHO BELIEVED THAT A BIREGIONAL SOLUTION WAS NOT THE MOST LIKELY OUTCOME OF CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS.

10. STROVOLOS HOUSING PROJECT. SENATOR BROOKE VISITED THIS PROJECT NEAR NICOSIA BECAUSE IT IS LARGELY FINANCED BY US ASSISTANCE FUNDS. HE ASKED QUESTIONS ON COST, TYPE OF FAMILIES THAT WILL INHABIT THE HOMES AND HOW INTERIOR FURNISHINGS ARE PROVIDED. HE WAS INFORMED THAT EACH UNIT COST APPROXIMATELY \$12,000 AND THAT THE GOC MINISTRY OF SOCIAL WELFARE PROVIDES FURNISHINGS TO THE FAMILIES. RESIDENTS ARE CHOSEN ON BASIS OF SYSTEM WHICH GIVES PRIORITY PREFERENCE TO PERSONS LIVING IN TENTS, SHACKS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS. THE SENATOR REQUESTED ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN OF THE CYPRIOT POPULATION AND LATEST UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS, WHICH IS BEING FORWARDED BY THE EMBASSY. HE ALSO REQUESTED THE LATEST EVALUATION OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN CYPRUS AS PREPARED BY THE EMBASSY (CONTAINED IN THE ECONOMIC PORTION OF NICOSIA A-47). DEPT IS REQUESTED TO FORWARD THIS PORTION OF A-47 TO THE SENATOR'S OFFICE.

11. DECEMBER 2 LUNCH BY FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES ASSEMBLED MOST OF KEY GOC MINISTERS AND PROVIDED SENATOR OPPORTUNITIES FOR USEFUL DISCUSSION WITH MINISTERS OF FINANCE AND LABOR. FOLLOWING LUNCH, SENATOR PAID A FORMAL CALL ON FONMIN CHROSTOPHIES.

12. BEFORE DINNER, SENATOR RECEIVED A MISSING PERSONS

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DELEGATION AT HIS HOTEL AND ASSURED DELEGATION OF HIS  
CONTINUING CONCERN FOR THIS HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM.

13. AMBASSADOR'S DINNER DECEMBER 2 BROUGHT TOGETHER  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU, LABOR MINISTER  
SPANOS, UN SENIOR POLITICAL ADVOSOR GORGE, AND GOVERNOR  
OF CENTRAL BANK.

14. SENATOR BROOKE AND MR. ROSSITER LEFT EARLY MORNING  
DEC 3.

15. PRESS COVERAGE. SENATOR BROOKE'S VISIT RECIEVED  
WIDE-SPREAD, FAVORABLE, PRESS, TV AND RADIO COVERAGE. ON  
DEC 1, FILMS OF THE SENATOR'S ARRIVAL AND VISIT TO AKHNA  
REFUGEE CAMP TOOK UP ALMOST ONE-THIRD OF MAIN GREEK-  
LANGUAGE TV NEWS PROGRAM. ALL GREEK-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS  
DEC 3 CARRIED EXTENSIVE STORIES AND PICTURES OF THE  
SENATOR'S MEETING WITH ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS.

16. EMBASSY COMMENT. SENAOTR BROOKE'S VISIT WAS MOST  
HELPFUL TO POST BECAUSE HE EMPHASIZED TWO THEMES WHICH WE  
HAVE BEEN PRESENTING TO CYPRIOTS OF BOTH SIDES (A) THAT US  
FOREIGN POLICY IS BASED ON NATIONAL INTERESTS, HAS  
BI-PARTISAN SUPPORT, (B) THE AUTHORITIES ON THE ISLAND  
SHOULD COOPERATE IN ACCORDING PUBLICITY TO US ASSISTANCE  
PROGRAMS.  
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## Message Attributes

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